## The social setting

(a) Population and settlement (see Table 1:2 and Map 2)

The indigenous population of the sub-district totals some 36,500 people of whom 26,500 are Orokaiva and occupy the central lowland area. There are, in addition, an estimated 1,100 indigenes from other parts of Papua-New Guinea, either employed by the Administration or European planters (as contract labour) or operating smallholdings under a land settlement scheme. The European population of 495 persons falls into five major categories: Administration, Anglican mission, army, commercial and plantation. Most live in the district headquarters of Popondetta (population 600) and, like the indigenes from other districts, apart from indigenous Orokaiva settlement.

Table 1:2

Popondetta sub-district: population in ethnic groups by location and occupation (1965 estimates)

| | Ethnic group | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Indigenous* | Asiatic | European |
| **Location** | | | |
| Popondetta township | 300 | 13 | 300 |
| Rest of sub-district | 36,161** | 0 | 182 |
| Total | 36,461 | 13 | 482 |
| **Occupation*** ** | | | |
| Administration | n.a.† | 0 | 160 |
| Anglican mission | " | 0 | 79 |
| Army (PWD) | " | 0 | 68 |
| Commerce | " | 13 | 60 |
| Plantation/settlement work | 261 | 0 | 115 |
| Plantation labour | 1,813†† | 0 | 0 |
| Urban wage labour force | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| Sub-total | 2,374 | 13 | 482 |
| Subsistence farmers | 34,087 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 36,461 | 13 | 482 |

* Includes Orokaiva and other indigenes from Popondetta and other sub-districts.

** 26,500 Orokaiva, 9,000 other local indigenes and 661 indigenes from other sub-districts.

*** Includes dependants.

† Not available

†† 600 from other sub-districts.

Source: DDA, Popondetta.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23



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The pattern of exchanges in relation to the sex and age of sample members

The nature of an individual's participation in the exchange system is directly related to his access to the appropriate goods and services. The criteria of sex and age have already been shown to have an important bearing on roles assumed in the productive system and, since the various goods and services can frequently be associated with specific activities, patterns of exchange are also influenced in this manner.

(i) By sex (see Table 10:13). Since most of the staple food, taro, circulates in a prepared form at the time of the evening meal, its distribution is largely the women's responsibility; so is breadfruit, which serves as a major substitute for taro during the dry season. The men consider their informal sharing of areca and lime to be of a similar nature and function in the exchange system. Thus, in the disposal of abundant subsistence goods, the pattern accords to that of the division of labour associated with them although, since most are in the form of individual exchanges, acquisitions are shared by both sexes. However, the exchange of 'scarce' goods is more strictly the concern of the men. This applies particularly to wild game, pig and to sago. Hunting is primarily a male pursuit, while the nature of the preceding negotiations and the scale and significance of the subsequent distributions of pigmeat and sago dictate that they be handled by the household heads.

The exchange of labour services can also be considered in terms of activity patterns, for subsistence activities featuring large work groups, and therefore requiring extra-household assistance, are male-dominated. Hence it is men who most commonly render assistance. Even in the harvesting of yams, where women do a lot of the work, the activity is organised by the male owner of the garden and therefore the service is offered to him.

The management of cash crops, particularly their marketing, is the men's responsibility, and any assistance in the processing of coffee is directed to them, although over half of it is actually provided by women. The pulping of coffee by hand, though labour intensive and a task of some urgency, is not nearly so arduous as the other major activities associated with the exchange of labour services, and this is the reason for soliciting assistance from women.

Cash transactions are primarily the responsibility of the men but the circulation of storebought goods is largely determined by the nature of their utility within the subsistence economy and the circumstances of their exchange. Thus tools and equipment are handled almost exclusively by men whereas prepared food, personal and household goods are distributed largely by women, although both sexes are involved in their acquisition (i.e. purchasing, receiving of parcels, etc.).

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Table 10:13

Sivepe: exchange of goods and services, by sex
(percentage distribution)

| Category | Acquisition | | | Disposal | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | Total | Men | Women | Total |
| Subsistence produce: total deviant items:* | 47 | 53 | 100 | 35 | 65 | 100 |
| Taro | 42 | 58 | 100 | 18 | 82 | 100 |
| 'Soup' | 57 | 43 | 100 | 7 | 93 | 100 |
| Sago | 60 | 40 | 100 | 90 | 10 | 100 |
| Breadfruit | 28 | 72 | 100 | 10 | 90 | 100 |
| Areca, lime, etc. | 52 | 48 | 100 | 71 | 29 | 100 |
| Pig (domestic) | 95 | 5 | 100 | 94 | 6 | 100 |
| Produce of hunting | 79 | 21 | 100 | 72 | 28 | 100 |
| Cash crops: total | - | - | | 100 | - | 100 |
| Labour services: total of which: | 88 | 12 | 100 | 66 | 34 | 100 |
| Cash | 92 | 8 | 100 | 46 | 54 | 100 |
| Subsistence | 88 | 12 | 100 | 70 | 30 | 100 |
| Storebought goods: total of which: | 45 | 55 | 100 | 40 | 60 | 100 |
| Foodstuffs and stimulants | 58 | 42 | 100 | 37 | 63 | 100 |
| Personal | 31 | 69 | 100 | 20 | 80 | 100 |
| Household | 52 | 48 | 100 | - | 100 | 100 |
| Tools and equipment | 90 | 10 | 100 | 83 | 17 | 100 |
| Cash | 73 | 27 | 100 | 70 | 30 | 100 |

| | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of days surveyed | 2,323 | 2,418 | 4,741 |
| Percentage of total | 49 | 51 | 100 |

* Items deviating significantly from the total for the category.

In effect, apart from transactions associated specifically with cash (and therefore including the marketing of cash crops), exchange patterns manifest a close association with the basic features of the organisation of production in relation to the sexes.

561 (ii) By age. Table 10:14 outlines the percentage distribution of goods and services between five age categories and it also compares these distributions with the relative position of each category within the sample in terms of man-days observed. It demonstrates that, in general, the flow of goods and services is regulated by individuals within the 25 to 44 years age bracket, who are the most active within the sample and therefore, presumably,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 212]

Kokoda. The invasion brought a much higher degree of cultural contact and upheaval by both the occupation of the Japanese and the counter-occupation by the Australian forces. Another dramatic upheaval took place in 1951 when Mt Lamington erupted, killing some 4,000 Orokaivas and Europeans. This caused a mass evacuation from the traditional home villages and the temporary settlement in collective camps outside the declared contaminated area. The temporary resettlement caused much friction (Keesing 1951).

Mission influence is strong in the Northern District. This is provided almost exclusively by the Anglican church and is of a fairly orthodox nature. Mission influence is mixed somewhat with traditional beliefs and there is an air of mysticism about the resultant religious system. Education is predominantly through a system of mission schools, partly financed by the Government Department of Education. The schools are staffed by both European and Orokaiva teachers and use an approved syllabus. The teachers are dedicated but often not substantially better educated than their pupils. Many of the Papuan teachers are educated only to Standard 4.

There is currently some covert aggression towards the European settlers, some of whom reciprocate in a more overt manner. The history of European contact has not always been happy. Frequent misunderstanding and misinterpretation by both sides has led to strained social relations in many cases. The initial settlement of Europeans in the area resulted in bloodshed and ill-feeling. Early miners and police both had cause to fear the Orokaiva. Later government attempts to enforce cash cropping met strong resistance in some areas. The Japanese invasion and its subsequent defeat led to many confusing and bewildering Orokaiva deaths. Since the last war there has been some improvement of the race relations - but they are still basically seen in some type of dominance relationship, e.g., master - labourer, teacher - pupil, etc. The Anglican church has ordained a few priests and in general has congenial relations with the Orokaiva, yet this does not necessarily suggest a closer empathy with or understanding of the people. The Orokaiva regard some resident Europeans as welcome and fairly warmly received and others as being unwelcome trespassers. More Europeans appear to be in the latter category than is generally realized.

Like any enclave in a foreign country the European settlers attribute stereotyped characteristics of personality and temperament to particular local groups. This process of one group classifying another into psychological types provides a working basis for interaction. The Orokaiva were quickly allotted a stereotype and this came to be reinforced as the ascribed characteristics were searched for and found. The Orokaiva were classed as being 'surly', 'resentful', 'sulking', 'good policemen but need

177 to be kept under control'. Europeans now living in the Northern
563 District tend to make such wide generalizations. They also tend to allot unique stereotypes to subgroups such as villages or tribes.

The process appears to be one of social spacing in a psychological field thus allowing relationship between broad groups to be defined and fixed. Such a process tends to cause less anxiety in social interaction. Instead of the necessity to formulate a new social relationship with each person, relationships are already defined and the task is simply to find which relationship is applicable. The tribal group is very convenient for this purpose. There exists a strong body of opinion concerning the Orokaiva and his nature, habits, ability and personality, though very little of this has been substantiated by scientific enquiry.

## History of psychological testing in Papua-New Guinea

114 The first report of psychological research in Papua-New Guinea is that of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait Islands in 1898. The expedition, under A.C. Haddon, consisted of Sidney H. Ray (linguistics), Anthony Wilkins (archaeology and anthropology), C.S. Seligman (native medicine and disease) and three young psychologists each of whom was to achieve prominence: W.H.R. Rivers (who became Chairman of the Medical Section of the British Psychological Society), C.S. Myers (who became Director of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology) and William McDougall (later Professor of Psychology at Harvard University then Duke University). Volumes of reports were published intermittently from 1901 to 1935. The most relevant psychological material is found in the Introduction to Vol.I and in Vol.II, Parts I and II.

Rivers (1901) described the subjects investigated as:

> visual acuity and sensibility to light differences, colour vision, including testing for colour blindness, colour nomenclature, the thresholds for different colours, after-images, contrast and the colour vision of the peripheral retina; binocular vision, line dividing; visual illusions, some of which were investigated quantitatively; acuity and range of hearing; discrimination of tone-differences; rhythm; smell and taste; tactile acuity and localisation; sensibility to pain; temperature spots; discrimination of weight and illusions of weight; reaction time and choice time, estimation of intervals of time; memory; mental fatigue and practice; muscular power and motor accuracy; drawing and writing; blood pressure changes under various conditions etc.

177 the children are principally concerned while some older people are still averse to contacts with medical personnel.

Section 7: Contacts With Chinese

563 439 At the time of the eruption there were, as far as I know, no Chinese in the Northern District. By 1966, five Chinese families had settled in Popondetta, all of them as traders. They had migrated from Rabaul and Lae, where they have trade connections. In the two years or so since their arrival, they developed considerable trade connections among the Papuans. I found that both at Sivepe and Inonda, people preferred to deal at the Chinese shops rather than at the two large established European concerns.

The main reason I was given for this preference was that the Chinese shops offered goods at lower prices. It was certainly true that these shops had a far greater range of low-priced clothing of the type Papuans like to buy. There were, however, other factors. When I had occasion to buy low-priced clothing of the favoured type, I found that the two European stores actually had some rather good stock and that the price was not actually higher. I even found that some lines were more expensive in some of the Chinese shops. This applied particularly to tinned food which the Papuans also bought.

The two European stores were certainly full of goods well beyond the means of the Papuans; when they traded there, they would have to be very careful to pick items of the right sort of price. The main trade of the European shops was with Europeans who put through relatively large orders usually on credit. The Papuan who went there with a few shillings to spend could not help but feel his economic inferiority. In one of the shops, I occasionally saw cartoons displayed which had a racist bias. In the Chinese stores, salesmen were exclusively Papuan and by no means gave preferential treatment to Europeans who went shopping there. Papuans felt much more at ease there. Furthermore, a Papuan who had a regular income or who was known to the owner and grew coffee, could get credit at the Chinese shops.

[245] [494] One of the Chinese stores introduced several new features in his business. He bought coffee from Orokaiva growers which he sent over to Lae for processing. His price was a little lower than that of the coffee cooperative, but people sold coffee to him nevertheless. Sometimes, the reason was that the cooperative bought only once a month during a scheduled visit to each district, and people might wish to sell at other times. In other cases, the reason was that only members of the cooperative could sell to the cooperative and many small growers were not members (the entrance fee had risen to $16 by 1966). Furthermore, the coffee could be used to pay debts incurred with the Chinese store.

563 More important was the encouragement given by the Chinese
439 store to the development of Papuan-owned trade stores in the villages.
443 Village trade stores have existed in the Northern District for a long time but traditionally they were built by planters who sought extra income by selling trade goods to their employees and villagers in the vicinity. The shopkeeper was a closely-supervised Papuan on wages. In 1966, I counted some 20 of these stores between Inonda and Sivepe. Fourteen of these were owned by various planters, but the other six were of the new type promoted by the Chinese trader. Here the owner of the store was Orokaiva and the Chinese supplied trade goods and transport, if needed, at some extra cost.

During the year I was in the field, it became the ambition of many villages to have their own trade store. In the Sasembata
[554] area alone, at least four new ones were started. The arguments in favour of them were: that the village store might as well have the profits instead of these all going to the Europeans; that one would not need to walk so far to buy goods; that the village store would sell goods at all hours, instead of only during the day. There was a strong ideological motive as well, to be discussed later. The stores were an avenue, above all, to greater power. Inonda was served by a planter-owned trade store two miles from the village.

Hence, the role of the Chinese in the Northern District was a rather interesting one. It was they who opened to the Orokaiva the opportunity of trading. The Chinese, indeed, gave wholesale discounts to all these small shops and treated the traders without condescension. Every few weeks, the Chinese truck delivered supplies to the shops in the Sasembata area. It was then, too, that it collected coffee. The storekeepers also visited Popondetta to collect the supplies when they could, occasionally with the clandestine help of a government driver.

Section 8: Contact With the "Taupa"

177 In the previous sections I have sketched the network of
366 contacts characteristic of Sivepe village at the time of the eruption
368 and the present, and compared these with Inonda. The comparison cannot usefully be carried too far, as Inonda is much closer to Popondetta than Sivepe, while the small size of Inonda and its longer distance from even a minor educational, and medical centre and from a mission station introduces ecological elements reducing cultural contact. A general difference between the two places, resulting from these factors, is that the locale of contact for the people of Sivepe is most often the village, or a place only a mile or so from the village (the mission station, or Garoubi, or Sasembata village), the locale of contact for the Inonda people is
177 more often Popondetta. Another difference is that whereas Sivepe,
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Section 5: Attitudes Towards Government

829 Orokaiva attitudes towards the government have three aspects
that must be carefully distinguished: attitudes to individual government
servants, to the power structure and to the values represented by the
● 563 government. As for attitudes to individual public servants, I have
no evidence for any change in attitudes. In a subtle way every white
man with whom Orokaiva come into contact is tested according to various
criteria: fairness, courtesy, willingness to reciprocate gifts and
services, willingness to eat with the people (a rare phenomenon,
this) and above all, his behaviour in the constant battle of wits
and inner strength in which Orokaiva delight. A man such as Mr. Kaad
who was a good man by all these tests, was remembered with much affection;
others, though excellent by the criteria of the Australian public
service, would be resented or soon forgotten.

657 The Orokaiva attitude to the power structure is determined by
177 a rather harsh history of earlier contacts, beginning with the murderous
régime of Monckton and culminating in the 1940's in the Japanese
conquest, the Allied re-conquest and the public execution of a small
band of Orokaiva who had sided with the Japanese. The welfare
orientation of the Australian government was perhaps never massively
demonstrated before the eruption of Mount Lamington. At the present
time this welfare orientation is well understood but the Orokaiva fear
the Australian power to compel their compliance. They use what
resources they have to keep this power within limits. They have found
that it is usually fruitless to disobey Australian commands openly,
but power can often be made ineffective if orders are misunderstood
or forgotten or evaded. Furthermore, it is a general rule among
Orokaiva to withhold information systematically from the taupa. It
took me some months to learn that even the simplest information I
had about the Orokaiva was often unknown to Europeans, not because
they were not interested but because nobody would tell them. On a
few occasions when an official asked me a question I would say that
any of his "driver-boys" (that was how they referred to their drivers)
could answer it and the official would answer: "Nobody will tell me.
They all say they don't know." This is indeed a potent weapon against
colonial administrators.

657 It would be wrong to assume that this attitude is directed
against Europeans in general, because there was great variation in
177 the treatment of individuals, and also, it is not directed against
the values Australians are trying to introduce. The avoidance of
communication is largely, I think, a device in the power struggle
between the colonial government and its subjects. The Orokaiva do
what they can to avoid being dominated. In this context, the setting
[623] up of local government councils was a great step forwards. The councillors
do not meet with the same communication bar because the people know
that they can control them through the electoral machinery. Hence it

## CHAPTER III: Degree of Homogeneity of the Community

621 To what extent do we find ethnic diversity in this population? The answer to this question depends very much on our concept of homogeneity. If we look merely at the diversity of clans and of places of birth of present community members, as stated by themselves, a remarkably homogeneous picture may be presented for Sivepe: out of 28 male adults actually resident in Sivepe, 26 were born within two miles of the present village site; the other two were born in Soroputa, which [591] is hardly more than four miles away. Both the Soroputa men had married [582] Sivepe women; they were the only two families that were overtly uxorilocal. Although the rest of the families were all overtly virilocal, only seven out of 33 adult Sivepe females came from a village more than two miles away from the present village site. None of these seven were over 45 years of age; all but two were under 35 years old. Furthermore, six of these seven women married into the Jegase clan. Only one of them married into Seho; in this case, the woman had married a Jegase man, become divorced, and then remarried into Seho.

621 The traditional pattern was for a man to marry a woman from 582 a nearby village; the present generation of Seho householders had all followed this tradition. The more modern pattern is to choose women from further afield; this had become a frequent practise for the younger Jegase men who tended to choose wives from villages two to four (but never more) miles from Sivepe. Sorovi had followed the traditional pattern, without one exception. From this viewpoint, homogeneity was extreme.

563 In Inonda, two of the nine adult male inhabitants were born outside the district: one came from Arafa, in the Managalasi district 169 and was captured by Inonda people in war as an infant. This fact was at first concealed from me and only elicited when inconsistencies arose. If one asks his clan name, he answers it is Andiriha. He has two sons living in the village, both married. The other immigrant is a Sangara man who was a mission teacher at Sewa before the eruption, came to Inonda with the other Sewa people, and did not return to Sewa when the others went back to their old village. His two daughters both married Inonda men.

621 Of the ten adult women living at Inonda, four came from the 628 Sangara tribe, one from Kendata in the Sasembata district and the others [582] from villages in the vicinity of Inonda. The term "vicinity" has a slightly different meaning in the Inonda district than in the far more densely populated area around Sivepe. The villages from which Inonda women tended to come were three or four miles away rather than just one mile. To this greater geographical distance corresponded a greater

621 social distance also. Relations between Inonda and Ureo or Hohota,
628 from which Inonda recruited wives, were distinctly less friendly than those prevailing between, say, Sivepe, Garombi and Binduta. (See my doctoral dissertation and also Hogbin, 1966.)

If we seek an explanation for the far greater heterogeneity
563 of Inonda, we find two historical causes in this sample: a war and
621 a disaster. The link with Kendata came through the Managalasi man;
167 the links with Sangara came as a result of the eruption of Mt. Lamington. Admittedly, this Sangara link was of a modern type, the central figure being a mission teacher. The residential pattern however is ancient: due to some vicissitude, a man settled with his affines; this led to further marriages between his village of origin and his village of residence. He was given enough land to cultivate for subsistence. In this case, the Sangara immigrant still quoted his own clan name when asked; the Managalasi man did not.

If we go back a little further in the history of Sivepe, even only one generation beyond the present residents, we find much the
[727] same pattern as still survives in Inonda. The capturing of young
[423] orphans was a commonplace event among the Orokaiva, as were also migrations to escape from enemies. Sometimes the fugitives or the orphans returned eventually to their village of origin, looking for a friendly relative who was willing to meet their claims to the land of their fathers. In going back a few generations into the past, one never knows for certain who is a new immigrant and who is a claimant for ancient rights.

The tendency is always to obliterate the traces of alien origin, to drop alien phonetical habits and alien use of grammar and
[773] vocabulary as soon as possible. On the other hand, myths of the place of origin will still be transmitted to the children, so that anyone collecting tales among the Orokaiva will be presented with a variety of versions of different local origin. Many of the best ones I collected were of Kiorota origin because the father of old man who told the stories came from that district about 45 years ago. Furthermore, the links with the place of origin are rarely broken off, not even in the case of women or babies who were abducted as war captives. The immigrant wishes to keep alive his land rights in his place of origin. The people of his native village in return wish to exploit any advantages there may be in the connection between their absent clansman and his hosts. This connection will be kept alive by further intermarriages.

Immigrants and their descendants therefore retain multiple
167 loyalties. As these loyalties are kept alive over the generations
563 by intermarriage, use of trees in the other village, fishing and hunting rights, and as migration used to be very common before the pax Australiana, such multiple loyalites are extremely common. I am not quite sure how these loyalties fared in time of war, but I understand that if two men who were linked by such relationships found themselves on opposite sides in a war, they were unlikely to fight each other though stories are told of unfortunate accidents. I have

already pointed out the usefulness to a village of such men of multiple loyalties because they were the natural ambassadors if something needed to be negotiated between the two groups.

It will be seen that the effect of the eruption on the homogeneity of Sivepe has been minimal: one stranger came into the community through marriage. The ideology engendered by the resettlement villages did lead to some accretions in Sivepe population over the last decade before my visit, but these accretions (from Binduta and Garombi) would hardly make the population heterogeneous. These migrations were over a very short distance, short enough to allow migrants to maintain gardens on their own land, and were facilitated by existing agnatic and cognatic links.

731 Immediately after the eruption, the Sangara people decided to
[583] waive all bridewealth, so that a large percentage of the women in
Hohorita were married without one. At the present time, bridewealth
[464] is reinstated, and young men go to neighbouring plantations, which are
plentiful--or else further abroad--to earn them. While many husbands
[595] worked outside Hohorita, most of them were able to return home at
weekends. Polygamy was pronounced before the eruption, but it seems
that the polygamists became victims of the eruption and polygamy no
longer exists as a recognised institution.

871 If the average educational standard at Hohorita is slightly
above that of Sivepe, the reasons are: better facilities during the
years 1945-1951, loss of many members of the older age groups in the
eruption, special efforts made by Bishop Hand at Irihambo to draw
Sangara into mission teaching. This higher standard is reflected in
the statistics of persons who at one time or another have been in
skilled occupations. (Table 21).[A] The persons who returned to Hohorita
434 did so with the express idea of making some money out of coffee; the
average income from coffee in Hohorita is certainly far in excess of
that in Sivepe (about $100 per annum).

871 Hohorita does feel that it is held back by the present educational
provisions which are little better than those in Inonda and much
inferior to those at Sasembata. (At Hohorita, there is no schooling
beyond Standard 3, whereas Sasembata goes up to Standard 6.) Hohorita
people compare the school unfavourably with the government school at
the Sangara resettlement block which offers Standard 6, and which,
furthermore, has more highly qualified teachers on the staff. My
own impression was that the head teacher at Hohorita is a very good
man; some of the criticism of him is no doubt due to spite, for he is
of local origin. Still, the general criticism of facilities at
Hohorita is not unjust.

621 Hohorita is less homogeneous in ethnic origin than the other
563 villages discussed, as the population is drawn from different parts
582 of the Sangara tribe and intermarriage with other tribes has been
frequent. The explanation may be found in the pressure, after the
disaster, to find mates when most preferred potential marriage partners
had died in the eruption. This breaking down of the endogamous emphasis
after wars and disasters is, as I pointed out earlier, traditional
among the Orokaiva.

423 Heterogeneity was countered to some extent by an arrangement
591 which was, according to informants, made by a popular meeting shortly
582 after the eruption. According to this arrangement women who married
outside Sangara, would be allowed the same land rights as though
they had been sons. This was done in an effort, so I was told, to add ens
to the depleted Sangara population. Men would thus be encouraged to
settle on Sangara land rather than take their Sangara wives home with
them. Two men from the Sasembata district are now living in Hohorita
under this arrangement. They keep up normal exchange relations with
their home district, e.g., I know one of them lent hambo for the kere

A [See Cat. 116, p. 228--Analyst]